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Three and a half centuries of international colonialism and American racism have created a deep-seated emotional pattern and set of traditions in which semantics play a very important role. Modern man is so completely steeped in these traditions and influenced by the semantics growing out of them, that it is difficult for him to examine his heritage of a system of bi-racialism and its double standard of values, except in terms of how much it is going to pain him even to think about it. By dint of great effort, he may induce himself to embark upon a program of objective thinking in quest of a reasonable course of action that he as an individual may be willing to take; but the next obvious step required of him, induces even greater pain -- that of attempting to convince his more retarded fellow-man. Both of these steps are a long way removed from the wide-scale implementation of corrective programs which common sense and self-interest dictate at this particular time in our national existence.

For instance, in a consideration of the issue of the franchise, the right to vote being basic in our form of society, the question discussed is not "Is it unjust to disfranchise citizens because of race" but rather, "Is it feasible and acceptable to risk Negro participation and possible political control"; Not "is it fair; is it democratic" but rather, "how will our white people endure it?" In Northern as well as Southern school districts, the question which influences the thinking of a majority of people, "what will happen to our white children if all schools are integrated" not "what more

DEC 6 1973

significant and valid question "what has happened and is happening to all our children as a result of the funeral practices of segregation"; or better still, the pregnant question "what is happening to the concept of Western Democracy; the cult of individual freedom and growth; the standards of political ethics and social morality upon which our culture is based."

With what many will consider to be this cynical observation, I approach the task of discussing the question "Is it true that white as well as Negro children gain from Integration?" My apparent cynicism is perhaps a form of admission that I cannot answer that question directly, positively, firmly. It will be difficult, if not impossible, to find the direct, positive, firm answer, because the less uncomfortable practice of tolerating segregation, legal and de facto, has not inspired adequate study of the affect of this system upon the majority that created and perpetuates the practice. Of necessity therefore, we are forced to approach the question by an examination of alternatives available to us. So, let's put it this way: "Is it true that white as well as Negro children lose as a result of segregation?" Even here, we shall be forced to depend upon the observations of educators and intergroup relations practitioners, rather than upon any wide-scale socio-psychological research, as it may relate to majority group responses.

Helen Trager's work, reported in her publication "They Learn What They Live," while not dealing with the experience of segregation, per se, nevertheless measures the impact of a double standard of values in a bi-racial society, upon very young children. This report has amusing sidelights when we recall

how many of us have repeated the cliché: "You know, little children have no prejudices." One thing we can say with certainty, and that is that in a competitive society and in the normal human being's urge to be recognized and to belong, two of the earliest and easiest lessons learned are those of conforming as a means of meriting approval, and seizing the advantages that position, practice and custom bestow. A child need not be very advanced in age or wisdom to learn to eschew the companionship of a scorned Negro child, or to deliver the final thrust that cannot be parried in a childish quarrel, by hurling the searing, racial epithet. One of our literary classics for generations of American children, Booth Tarkington's "Penrod" gives several practical examples of how this may be done with greatest effectiveness.

Some measure of the nature of learning experience in human relations attitudes may be had, however, from several studies that have been made of minority group reactions to segregation and other forms of discrimination. The series of studies done under the auspices of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education in 1940-41 and '42, are well-nigh forgotten, but are not dated, in many respects. The personal case histories which form the basis for "Color and Human Nature" by Warner, Junker and Adams in 1941, and in Sutherland's summary in 1942 under the title "Color, Class and Personality", report in substance what is to be found in the monumental work, "The Mark of Oppression" by Kordiner and Oresky, in 1955.

From these and related studies, one is able to obtain a reasonably accurate measure of the effect of segregation and discrimination upon the personality of individuals within the Negro minority. The hurling of names; exclusion

from places of recreation; adult-approved practices of separating individuals and groups for learning and play experiences; herding of groups in racial ghettos; bitter repetition by adults in the Negro family circles, of their encounters with the demon, Prejudice; the looks of scorn and the words of insult to which one never becomes accustomed--are but a preface to life-long experiences which are repeated in one's quest for work, search for living quarters and a desire to have one's body interred in dignified surroundings at death. From the very earliest experience, to the last rebuff that induces blind helpless rage, individuals are absorbing deep, psychological injuries that leave sensitive scar-tissue even long after one has learned to anticipate and avoid some of the dangers of exposure.

Consequently, the very young Negro child begins to make certain practical choices in his first desire to avoid injury, and a subsequent urge to find meaning in the life he is caused to live. These choices will be seen manifested in the later life of the adult; whether these manifestations be healthy or unhealthy; whether or not they merit social approval; whether or not they provide a real, deep sense of assurance and personal security, or are the means of obtaining a momentary sense of personal gratification that later may leave a bitter taste. The first of such choices is either that of adjusting to a social order that leaves one baffled and frustrated, or of fighting it; to Submit or to Resist. To submit may mean playing the dual role of yielding the right of way, figuratively speaking, in every contact with the majority group, however assertive one may be in his private life (Talking to the Big Gate, a common Negro expression today!) Or, it may mean an amusing but significant legend

Edgeworth

the complete abrogation of the right to human dignity; the complete submission to the concept of inferior status and role; a complete acceptance of subservience as a safe comfortable and more or less gratifying way of life. The term, Uncle Tom, has been applied to individuals seeking this way out of burlesquism. Persons who will have made this choice, have lost the spark of initiative, have stifled their own imagination and ambition, have given up hope of everything but biological survival. These are the spiritless creatures to whom so-called superior people point, as examples of the inferior stuff of which the Negro minority is fashioned.

Those who choose to Resist may be recognized as belonging to three major groupings; those who respond to the urges to Excel, to Repel, and to Rebel. Much of America's virility derives from the urge of several generations of immigrant stock, to Excel, as a means of escaping minority group status with its concomitant disadvantages. Those who had had sense enough to choose white, Christian parents, were able to find healthy, profitable channels through which to express this urge and a comparatively early escape from minority group status; yet others of them chose the more exciting paths of reprisal in drug dealing, racketeering and violence, growing out of their resentment and spirit of rebellion. So in the Negro world, the 20,000 university graduates each year, despite handicaps imposed by segregated schools throughout the nation, represent a healthy manifestation of this urge. In this group of those who would excel, also we will find the hardworking laborer who is not afraid to put in extra time on the job; the housemaid who works long, dreary hours in another woman's home, that her children may have higher education; the slim-reared youth who, with his limited training, derives his greatest satisfaction from flattening the features of another youth, preferably white, in the prize ring where real "equality of opportunity" prevails in its most elemental manifestation.

Many more who are not willing to compromise with injustice and indignity, will retire into an insular existence, responding to the urge to Regal that which threatens and injures. Here is the scholar in his ivory tower; the dedicated race leader who limits his contact with the white world as much as humanly possible; the worker in all levels who buries himself in the racial ghetto and confines his thinking and feeling to matters of race and the deity. He may make a cult of primitive religion, black nationalism or hebepism. In divorcing himself from the white world, he must find within his racial island that which to him may be a reasonable substitute. Thirdly, everywhere in the minority group world, we find those who respond to the urge to rebel--to resist actively. In history, there have been the patriots of all ages--that is, if they were successful in their revolt. We who have liberty, owe it to those of other days who were of this group, because it has always been in the history of man's progress, that the sacrifices of the rebels have made the initial breach in the walls of oppression and reaction. The spirit of rebellion may be manifested in organized, intelligent and constructive channels such as is seen in the efforts of several hundred thousand NAACP members; or it may be the blind, undisciplined rage of him who drinks, fights, and in other ways expresses his anger with and contempt for the more disciplined members of society. The spirit of resistance, expressed through these several urges to Regal, Regal and Rebel, characterize any normal individuals, who are reacting naturally and normally to continued exposure to abnormal experiences; be it a member of a minority group easily identified by color of skin or difference in language; or the individual who from childhood has been shut out from the sights of recognition and belongingness because of a crippled limb or other naming defect.



who is there who can estimate the hurt to society, arising from the actions of those who are denied the right to make contributions commensurate with their talents, or of those who are taught that society is an enemy upon whom may be visited any form of retaliation.

If scientific study and the observations of practitioners can present a clear picture of the affects upon minority group members, of segregation and discrimination, what may we imagine to be the effects upon the children of the so-called majority, who in a bi-racial society also are exposed to abnormal situations which belie and distort the religious teachings and the socio-political philosophy which are presumed to guide this Nation in its role of international leadership.

White youth, too, unconsciously is led to make a choice in the development of a human relations philosophy in our bi-racial society. His choice also, is influenced by his environment, his associations and his own personal strength or weakness of character in his evaluation of our moral and ethical concepts. His is the choice first, of offending the habits and customs of the home and the community of which he is a part, as those habits and customs are enunciated by his elders. Not so long ago a complaint was brought to the N.J. Division against Discrimination by the parents of a high school senior, a white boy, who had been expelled in the middle of his senior year as an incorrigible. We investigated the case thoroughly and found that his performance record had been beyond reproach until no more than three or four months before the time of our intervention. During the latter period he had been a truant on several occasions. Inquiry into the chain of events linked this truancy with a new and hitherto unheard of state of conflict with the

principle and a teacher. These events in turn, by some quirk of fate, immediately began to occur after this young fellow dated a charming and intelligent colored girl for one of the school social affairs. The implacable animosity shown by the educators could in no way be justified by the history of the boy's classroom behavior, nor would they permit his return to the school. He finally received his diploma from the high school in question, but only after completing his work in a private school and upon insistence by the Division that his credits be recognized. Very few people in life are willing to risk the swift and painful reprisals that await those bold enough to challenge the so-called sacred, time-honored racial traditions which generations of bigots and thoughtless people have perpetuated. Only the courageous few will take this risk.

Another small segment of the majority group will relish the role of playing God. These will appoint themselves the guardians of White Civilization. Upon their self-anointed heads rests the weight of the White Man's Burden. It is they who are empowered to make the decisions as to the admission of Negroes to schools, factories, recreation centers, places of public accommodation, Christian churches, residential neighborhoods. They have refined the delicate art of applying varying degrees of social and economic pressure; who have drawn the organization charts for the modern rebellion which can operate with the maximum of respectability in the best of communities and institutions. The White Citizens Council of the South is but an overt, bold expression of that which transpires in virtually every town, village and city in America.

Between these two comparatively small minority segments of the majority group population, will be found the great mass of citizens who have elected to retreat or escape from pained consciousness of the racial problem. Otherwise friendly, generous, decent and neighborly people, their greatest weakness is an unwilling-



ness to face up to present day problems and responsibilities. They wish to be let alone--yet they would wish to be recognized as intelligent, active contributors to the better life in the American community. They want to belong; they want to get ahead in life; they want their children to have a more abundant life than they themselves have enjoyed, but they are afraid of the many hazards which life imposes. "Work with a Negro in my plant, office, laboratory or school room?" "Accept a Negro as a neighbor in our community?" "Let my children play with a Negro child?" "Permit a Negro to become a member of our church and attend our social affairs?" These are momentous questions that shake such families to their very roots. Of course, they are not prejudiced, but what in the world will the neighbors think? These are the in-between people who can form the body of a great civic reform movement; fill the tabernacles in massive religious revivals; or become the backbone of a howling mob, lusty for blood. What they are or are to be depends upon the degree to which either of the aggressive extremes can catch and hold their imagination and convey the illusion of prestige.

It is for the leadership of the community to decide quite sharply and clearly whether the fear, insecurity or uncertainty which characterize these masses are being coped with, or can be coped with to an effective degree. Can we say with assurance that our equivocation in social matters goes unnoticed by our youth? Do our various rationalizations for our failure to do justly, leave some imprint upon their own slowly forming code of ethics? Do we believe that a double standard of morality in human relations can be turned on and off like a water faucet, and that white children can ignore or mistreat Negro children without its leaving a mark upon their own consciences and character? How much of the

answers to these several questions may be found in the state of American popularity abroad. The questionable *Lancer* of World War I which pictured the American doughboy's dislike of France because it was filled with foreigners, is absent in the more recent scordid note sounded in the several trials of American soldiers whose contempt for Japanese and Korean natives ended in tragedy. Nothing will ever record a more shocking view of group arrogance, cowardice and savagery than the pictures of the faces of teenagers who were in the mobs of Charlotte, North Carolina, Clinton, Tennessee and Little Rock, Arkansas. I submit that these may be seen as exhibit A in any review of the effects of bi-racialism upon majority group personality development.

In considering the outlook for young America, therefore we can contemplate the breeding of successive generations of citizens, through policies of *laissez-faire*, whose educational experience leaves them highly susceptible to the demagogue, or we can, as Dan Dalton has put it, look upon the present signs of conflict as challenges for all the creativeness we can muster, to harness the potential force of conflict for constructive purposes in shaping the new world. One of these challenges can be that of determining how best to immunize our children from the virus of Prejudice, the disease induced by habit, fear, miseducation and exploitation. As in other learning processes, we learn the lessons of Democracy by living democracy. The public school is the one instrument through which will be learned the lessons of citizenship responsibility. It dares not evade its duty any longer in the crucial area of human relations.